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Pageant of the Paterson Strike

New York

[1913]

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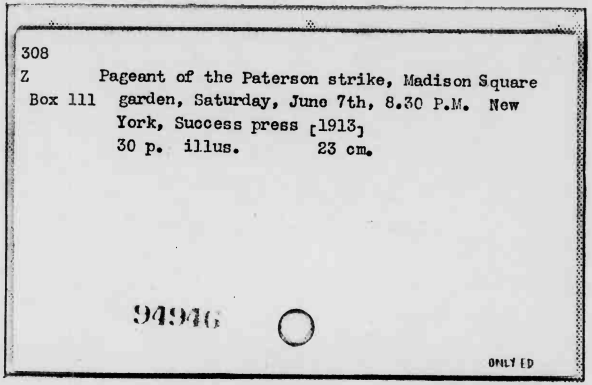
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THE PAGEANT OF THE PATERSON STRIKE

PERFORMED BY THE STRIKERS THEMSELVES.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

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The Eight-Hour Day for All Silk Mill Workers.

Abolition of the Three and Four-Loom System in Broad Silk.

Abolition of the Two-Loom System in Ribbon.

Restoration of the 1894 Price List on Ribbon

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PAGEANT
OF THE
PATERSON STRIKE
Madison Square Garden
Saturday, June 7th, 8.30 P.M.

THE SUCCESS PRESS
172 Clinton Street, New York

MEETING OF 20,000 PATERSON STRIKERS AT HALEDON

INDICTED I. W. W. ORGANIZERS
From left to right: Patrick L. Quinlan, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Adolph Lessig, William D. Haywood

The General Strike in the Silk Industry

By Frederick Sumner Boyd

At this writing the general strike in the silk industry centering in Paterson, N. J., with 25,000 working men, women and children on strike, has entered upon its fourteenth week, making it one of the most bitterly contested and remarkable battles in the labor history of America. Until this strike was called, no industry in America had ever been completely tied up by a general strike—the ideal weapon of the militant proletariat. Paterson has demonstrated the power of a general strike in an industry, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Virginia mills and dye houses being either entirely closed down or hopelessly crippled.

Not the least remarkable feature of the strike has been its lack of violence, as the word is commonly used, on the part of the strikers, despite the greatest possible provocation, often deliberately offered. Violence in many forms has been resorted to by the mill owners of Paterson and their instruments, the Mayor, the prosecutor, the police and the courts, notably the police court under Recorder Carroll and the trial court that convicted Quinlan.

Every Right Violated

From the outset of the strike Police Chief Bimson violated every right guaranteed under the constitutions of the United States and New Jersey, offering as his excuse on being challenged the fear that the strikers might infringe the law! Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca, I. W. W. organizers, were thrown into jail immediately they entered the city on preposterous charges of inciting to riot, and on this charge have been arrested several times since.

William D. Haywood and Adolph Lessig were arrested on charges of "unlawful assemblage" and "disorderly conduct" while on their way to hold a meeting in Haledon, Paterson authorities having decided that working men on strike have no right to assemble within the city's limits. Early in the strike the chief meeting places—Turn and Helvetia halls—were threatened with closure by the police, who objected to the advocacy of the idea of industrial solidarity, apparently believing that it is anarchistic. No definite action on this point was taken, however, until May 20, when the halls were closed to the strikers on the pretext that they were "disorderly places."

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

MEETING OF 20,000 PATERSON STRIKERS AT HALEDON

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From left to right: Patrick L. Quinlan, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Adolph Lessig, William D. Haywood

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A Successful Police Plot

The occasion for the charge was created on May 19, when a number of detectives attended the meeting in Turn Hall. That morning two strikers had had their heads cut open by policemen's clubs, and, co-operating with the manufacturers in a great effort to break the strike, the police arrested 108 pickets on a charge of "unlawful assemblage" and "disorderly conduct." When the meeting in Turn Hall opened, following these outrages, feeling against the police ran high, but the strikers were urged, as always, to "keep their hands in their pockets." The detectives were, however, looking for trouble, and insisted on talking while speeches were being made. Repeated protests at this interruption of the business were made by the strikers without effect, and the speakers were finally obliged to invite the detectives either to remain quiet or to leave the hall. Persisting in interrupting the meeting, they were at last ejected by the strikers, first drawing their guns and threatening to use them against the mass of unarmed men and women that packed the hall. The display of the guns had a contrary effect to that intended, and the officers thereupon withdrew with as much dignity as the haste of their departure permitted.

The incident, bearing on its face the marks of a police plot, was seized upon by the authorities and proclaimed as an assault upon the police, the press describing it as a riot, and the following day, when the strikers went to the halls they found the doors closed and guarded by police officers. Thus, after waiting in vain for twelve weeks for the strikers to give them a pretext to prohibit free assemblage, the police were obliged to fall back upon their own ingenuity to accomplish their object.

Free Speech a Crime

Under a law of New Jersey placed upon the statute book following a strike in Paterson in 1903-1904, practically anything said from a strike platform may be construed as "inciting to riot," or, failing that, as "preaching anarchy." The net effect is that speaking from a strike platform is a criminal offense, and by this means the right of free speech is legislated out of existence.

Haywood declared on one occasion that the working class of Paterson would be so organized and become so powerful in the city that they could and should make it impossible for a police officer to purchase anything at a store. The boycott, full and complete, was urged, and Haywood is now held in $2,000 bail, charged with "inciting to assault upon the Police Department."

Power of Folded Arms

Every I. W. W. organizer has urged the strikers to "go on the picket line and keep your hands in your pockets." Haywood and the other speakers have been at pains to explain that with the looms standing idle and rusting, with the dye-tubs corroding, the heaviest blow has been delivered against the capitalist in the place he feels it most. "Your power is in your folded arms," he has said time after time. "You have killed the mills; you have stopped production; you have broken off profits. Any other violence you may commit is less than this, and it will only react upon yourselves."

The strikers understand this. They realize that policemen's clubs can neither weave nor "dynamite" the silk. They understand that whether they are in jail or out, so long as their arms are folded, no profits, on which the capitalist depends, can be produced. They know that indictments and injunctions are as incapable of dyeing or adulterating silk as are the bayonets of soldiers, for which the manufacturers have repeatedly asked.

With this knowledge, they have conducted the most peaceful strike in the labor history of America. The only breaches of the peace that have occurred in the city have been due solely and entirely to the authorities and the mill owners.

A Striker Murdered

One death from violence has resulted from the strike. Valentino Modestino was murdered by a shot fired by a private detective in the employ of one of the mill owners. The murderer, in company with another detective, came out of a saloon, say eye-witnesses, flushed with drink, swinging clubs and displaying guns. They ordered some strikers to move on, threatening them with assault. A scuffle occurred, a shot was fired by one of the detectives, and Modestino, who had no connection with the strike, and was standing on the porch of his house, with one of his children in his arms, fell dead.

The murdered man's wife was within a week or two of confinement. The shock induced premature labor, the two conditions almost killing her. She is now left a widow, almost insane from the burden of the tragedy, with her new-born baby and three other tiny children dependent upon her. The I. W. W. strikers have undertaken that the care of Mrs. Modestino and her children shall be their charge when the strike is ended.

One Thousand in Jail

One thousand strikers have been arrested on the picket line since the strike began. They are charged with "disorderly conduct" or "unlawful assemblage," and on being given the option of paying a fine or going to jail, they have chosen the jail. This is in accordance with the policy of the I. W. W., which points out that the jail is a devise of capitalism to terrorize the working class. So long as the workers have any fear or respect for jails or other existing institutions, their purpose

is fulfilled; but when fear and respect are gone they lose their significance and utility as instruments of oppression.

"Jails are useful only so long as we are afraid of them!" In Paterson no one is afraid of jail. Being jailed in Paterson is no longer a disgrace—it is an honor. And the city and the county jails have been packed to their capacity with six, seven and eight strikers in a cell.

Failing to understand the nature of the strike, the authorities have acted on the assumption that if the organizers were intimidated or jailed the 25,000 men, women and children would be terrified and rush back to the mills. But when Haywood and Lessig were sentenced to six months, the strikers, in mass meetings, voted not to return to work until the organizers were released. "The same power that keeps the mill gates closed can throw open the jail doors," declare the strikers. "We will keep the mill gates closed until the jail doors open!"

Quinlan Is Convicted

The lesson passed unheeded, and the prosecution of Quinlan was pressed forward. The prosecution charged that on February 25 Quinlan urged the strikers at a Turn Hall mass meeting to get the scabs out of the mills; "club them out if necessary, but get them out!"

The defense contended that on the day in question Quinlan did not even speak.

For the prosecution only police officers and detectives appeared, and on cross-examination several of them broke down, giving contradictory testimony. The defense produced strikers who were present at the meeting to prove that Quinlan arrived at the hall too late to speak on the date in question.

The first trial resulted in a hung jury; the second in a verdict of guilty, and an appeal is pending, as are the trials of Haywood, Lessig, Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca.

These cases will be heard by a "foreign jury," on the order of Justice Minturn, who granted the application of Defense Attorneys Hunziker and Marelli, the contention being that a fair trial and an unbiased jury could not be secured in Passaic County. This is the first time in thirty years that a foreign jury has been ordered.

Attempt to Break the Strike

The most desperate attempt to break the strike was made when the United Textile Workers' Union (affiliated with the American Federation of Labor) was imported by the manufacturers in the hope of dividing the strikers' ranks. John Golden, president of the Union, and Sarah Conboy, national organizer, took personal charge of the strike—breaking operations.

Fresh from a notorious strike—breaking expedition in Hazleton, Pa., they secured the enthusiastic applause of the Paterson press and an open-

armed welcome by the city authorities. Offices were rented, and the proclamation was made that the A. F. of L. had come to settle the strike, to bring peace to Paterson, and to harmonize the relations between labor and capital.

The enrolling of members, according to the press reports and the announcements of the scab-recruiters, went rapidly forward. Every day, it was reported, strikers applied for permission to be enrolled as scabs. To encourage the hesitating and to accelerate the speed of enrollment, a mass meeting was called in the Armory, which accommodates 18,000 people, Golden and Sarah Conboy being advertised to speak.

It was probably the most remarkable meeting those noted "labor leaders" had ever addressed—or, rather had tried to address. Long before the doors were advertised to open every approach to the building was thronged by an eager multitude anxious to exchange views as to how the strike should be organized and conducted. Among the waiting crowd were men and women who had memories of how the A. F. of L. had co-operated with Henry Doherty some years before in introducing the three and four-loom system in place of the two-loom system in broad silk.

Others remembered that they had been told, when venturing to protest against a new "union" rate of ten cents, that the sixteen cent rate in unorganized mills was the scab rate.

Workers Have Memories

Yet others, and these were many, knew that their children were under-nourished, and remembered that this condition had come upon them during the years they had been divided in the mills by craft and race. They had sent hundreds of their children away in the care of strangers, and every child was suffering from mal-nutrition, the doctor's name for semi-starvation, a chronic condition that the strike had merely rendered acute.

They had many memories and much knowledge—that waiting throng of many thousand workers, and when at last the doors were opened and the meeting started, the memories and knowledge found a voice.

"Boo-oo-oo! Boo-oo-oo!" Eighteen thousand human beings raised their voices as one voice—the voice of the working class—and the great hall rocked and vibrated as the storm of passion swept it: the passion felt by men and women fighting for life for themselves and for their children: the passion of the workers for the solidarity that they had learned was more than life, and that the speakers on the platform hoped to snatch from them. Fifteen, thirty, forty-five minutes passed and the storm was unbroken: "Boo-oo-oo! Boo-oo-oo!"

Then Ewald Koettgen, local organizer of the I. W. W., stepped

on the platform, and as he raised his hand for quiet the storm died suddenly. His announcement was simple:

"I have been informed by the Committee that the I. W. W. will not be permitted to speak here tonight. Let's go home."

And the storm broke out again. Assemblyman Mathews of the Paterson Labor Council (A. F. of L.) endeavored to speak, but his voice was lost. In despair Mrs. Conboy took the stars and stripes from the speakers' table and waved it aloft. Instantly the booing changed to cheers, and from the pockets of the strikers flashed the red membership cards of the I. W. W., which were raised aloft, making a waving sea of crimson on the floor.

Then came the reading of the riot act by a Captain of the Police, and the workers were driven from the hall, leaving a vast emptiness in possession of the A. F. of L. And the empty hall symbolizes the achievements of Golden, Conboy and Mathews in Paterson. They had little when they went to the city. They left the city with nothing except disgrace.

"Solidarity, Unconquered, Unconquerable!"

Remarkable and inspiring as have been the solidarity and fighting spirit of the Paterson strikers, these features are even more striking among the 10,000 silk strikers of Greater New York. Striking almost simultaneously with Paterson, they have kept the New York mills so completely tied up that picketing is little more than exercise. The chief strike organizers have been so busy in Paterson that they have had little opportunity to work consistently on the New York situation, which, with its mills scattered in Astoria, College Point, Brooklyn, the Bronx and Manhattan, is unusually difficult. But the courage and fighting qualities of the strikers are fully equal to those of their fellow-workers in Paterson, and while the strike in New Jersey continues, the strike in New York will remain unbroken.

The message of the I. W. W. has been learned. Nationality, sex, age, creed and craft are forgotten. Confronting the Silk Manufacturers' Association is One Big Union—the Industrial Workers of the World. It is a struggle of humanity against greed, of labor against capital, a battle in the world-wide war that grows fiercer daily for the ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution, a war that will end in victory for the workers, with their battle cry: "Solidarity, unconquered, unconquerable!"

"No Grievances at all!"

By Ewald Koettgen

During the general strike of silk workers of Paterson, N. J., and vicinity, the mill owners have set up the claim that the workers were satisfied and had no grievances. That the "outside agitators" of the I. W. W. swooped down on the city and intimidated the workers into going on strike. That the workers were making all kinds of money, in fact the workers were making so much money that the mill owners were not making anything; they were running the mills at a loss or for charity sake. Let us see how much truth there is in it.

Fifteen years ago the writer had two looms; each loom contained goods that were 18 inches wide, 60 reed, 3 threads in a dent, 90 picks to an inch, taffeta weave 10c per yard. Now they operate 4 looms, 36-inch goods in each loom, 60 reed, 2 thread, 64 picks, taff weave, 2½c per yard. No grievance there, is there?

Five years ago messaline jobs were paid as follows: Two looms, goods 36 inches wide, 64 reed, 3 threads, 5 shafts, 104 picks, 11½c per yard. Now a weaver must operate 4 looms on the same kind of work and receives 5c per yard. At 2 looms a weaver could make 15 yards per loom per day, or 30 yards on two looms. This makes $3.45 for 30 yards. Now a weaver operating 4 looms can make about 12 yards per loom or 48 yards per day. Forty-eight yards per day at 5c per yard gives us $2.40. In other words, a weaver produces 18 yards more per day and is paid $1.05 less than before. Of course such a trifle is not a grievance.

More Work and Less Pay

Jacquard weavers used to operate one loom of from 18 to 24 inches wide. Now we find that they are compelled to operate 2 box loom jacquards 48 inches wide, 600 to 1200 machines, 64 reed, 3 threads, 2 to 7 shuttles at the rate of $2.50 to $2.75 per day. This is four times as much work for less pay. Further, we find that weavers are compelled to pay for a yard of cloth if an end is out or a float in it, but they are not given the goods; the boss keeps that and sells it, getting paid twice for the same yard. Also we find that weavers who turn off a cut of, say, 65 yards find that they only get paid for 60 yards. The boss steals from 5 to 15 yards on a cut. During the strike a case was reported where a weaver had turned off a cut of 80 yards. When he got his book he found it marked down for 10 yards. When

he complained he was told that it was a mistake, that it should have been 70 yards. The boss wanted to steal 10 yards but the clerk gave the boss the 70 yards and the weaver the 10 yards instead of the reverse. The winders are in the same fix. They tend to about double the number of ends that they formerly did.

The quill winders make filling for about double the number of looms that they formerly did and all for the magnificent wage of from $2.50 to $5.00 per week.

In the dye houses the workers fare about as bad or worse. It is hard work and very unsanitary. They have to work in rooms always filled with steam, put their hands in dye of all colors, containing all kinds of acids. The acids eat into their flesh and their hands are always stained. The dyers must taste the dye to find out if enough acid is in it and it is a common sight to see a dyer spit red, green, yellow or any other color for hours. The helpers who do the hard work are subject to rheumatism, colds, from working in overheated rooms, and are paid from $6.00 to $12.00 per week, ten hours per day. When work is slack the $12.00 men are laid off and the $6.00 men are kept on. They had no grievance, only these pesky I. W. W. agitators made them go on strike for the eight-hour day and a minimum wage of $12.00 per week!

Boss Steals $6.39 Out of $10.

The ribbon worker had no complaints, as we can readily see if we take a few jobs and look at them closely. In 1894 the bosses compelled them to accept a price list. The workers struck against it but were compelled to accept it. Before taking up any jobs it might be well to explain some of the terms used. Spaces mean ribbons; each space is a ribbon and 22 spaces means 22 ribbons in a loom. Lignes is the measure by which the width of the ribbon is determined. Price list of 1894: Spaces 22; lignes 21; picks per inch 56; class of work, satin gross grain, ends indent 61; reed No. 6; price per cut $3.13.

Take a loom of 1913: Spaces 66; lignes 21; picks per inch 100; class of work, satin taff; ends indent 61; reed No. 6; price per cut $3.09. In 1913 a loom contains 66 spaces or 3 times as many as in 1894; also instead of having 56 picks to an inch it has 100. According to the 1894 list a weaver received 2 per cent. increase for every four additional picks. So that if we figure up the 1913 job according to the boss' own price list of 1894 we get the following:

1894: $10.48 per cent.; 1913: $3.09 per cent.; in other words, the small reduction of $7.39 per cent. of 10 yards. The amount is so trivial that if the I. W. W. agitators had not told them the ribbon weavers wouldn't have noticed it at all.

Demands of the Strikers

All the other jobs are in the same proportion and the workers are striking for the 1894 price list and the eight-hour day.

The principal demands in this strike are: The abolition of the three and four-loom system in broad silk; the abolition of the two-loom system in ribbon; the restoration of the 1894 price list on ribbon; 25 per cent. increase in wages for all winders, quillers, pickers, bockers, etc.; a minimum wage of $12.00 per week for all dyers' helpers and the eight-hour day for all.

The bosses are howling about the I. W. W. for interfering with their skin game. They represent the I. W. W. as being greedy. It is the old game of howling stop thief. They who have plundered the workers out of the biggest share of their product for many years howl "greedy" when the workers demand more of their product. But the workers are onto the game and have lined up with the I. W. W. and will never be the submissive slaves that they have been in the past. The I. W. W. has welded the workers together into one big fighting machine and the bosses will have to reckon with it in the future.—*Reprinted from* Solidarity.

The Arrest of Haywood and Lessig

By Phillips Russell

Determined that the 25,000 silk strikers of Paterson, N. J., should not listen to William D. Haywood on Sunday, March 30, the guardians of Paterson's law and order seized Haywood and Adolph Lessig on their way to Haledon and, in the interests of the mill owners, secured Haywood's conviction and sentence to six months at hard labor, and Lessig to six months.

No single act or process in the proceeding had the least semblance of legality, and no attempt to make even a show of legality was made. The mill owners are represented on Paterson's Police Commission by one of themselves. They appointed as Recorder one James F. Carroll, notorious in the city as a bar-room politician. They wanted Haywood and Lessig out of the way; they had them seized by their police; they put them behind the prison bars, and intended them to stay there.

A mass meeting had been called for Sunday, March 30, in Lafayette Oval, which had been secured for the purpose by the strikers. On the preceding Saturday Police Chief Bimson issued an order prohibiting the meeting, but partly because of the lateness of the order's appearance, but more largely because they believed they had the rights of free assemblage and free speech, the strikers ignored the

order, and at the appointed hour began to pour in thousands down the roads leading to the meeting place.

"On to Haledon!"

In the meantime, a squad of special police detailed for special duty, namely, to prevent the meeting and disperse the crowd, held up Haywood and Lessig a block before they reached the Oval. The police informed Haywood that no meeting would be allowed, and that if he attempted to speak he would be arrested, whereupon the strikers within hearing distance shouted: "On to Haledon!"

The cry was taken up by the thousands assembled, Haywood assenting: "All right—we'll go to Haledon," and he began to walk the two miles beyond which lies the little Socialist municipality, followed by the strikers who had just learned that in Paterson they had no rights.

The crowd was perfectly orderly, although without any formation, but when it had got within half a block of the city's limits the patrol wagon thundered through the mass of men, women and children to where Haywood and Lessig were walking in front. Motorcycle police had noted the general direction of the crowd and had rushed for the wagon, which was hooted and jeered by the strikers as it dashed directly for Haywood and Lessig.

Police Sergeant Ryan jumped out of the wagon, pointed at Haywood. saying, "You're under arrest!" and grabbed Lessig, at the same time shouting, "Get Tresca!" Carlo Tresca, however, had dropped behind. As the wagon dashed by on its way to Haywood, some friends seized Tresca and hurried him into the house of a friend from whence he smiled pleasantly at the police who came to seize him.

Treated Like Wild Beasts

After Haywood and Lessig were under arrest, the police, in a frantic effort to drive back the crowd, met with one who refused to be hurried. This was Messari, who was arrested and later arraigned on the same charges as the two principal defendants, some of the police conveniently swearing he was with them, as the amended charge required three defendants to make it legal.

"Have you a warrant?" asked Haywood of the policemen who rode with him in the wagon.

"I have," answered one of them.

The three men were then thrown into the city jail, where Haywood was subjected to every indignity and outrage that a man can be forced to suffer. Almost immediately after the gate of his cell was slammed shut the jailors encouraged visitors to peer in between the bars as though he were a wild beast. This rubber-necking continued

until 10 o'clock at night. when Haywood was brought out of the cell and paraded before the platoon of policemen about to go on night duty.

"Look at this man," said Police Captain O'Brien. "You may need to know him again."

The inspection over, Haywood was locked again in his cell, to be interviewed at 3 a. m. by the prosecutor of Bergen County and the county's detectives.

Again at 5 a. m. he was pulled out of his cell for yet another inspection by Paterson police going on morning duty.

No formal charge had been preferred against him while he was thus treated as outrageously as though he had been convicted of some loathsome crime.

Framing the Charges

There was good reason for no charge having been made. A complaint had been filed by the police after the arrest, alleging unlawful assemblage, but between the arrest and the court proceedings in the morning following, it was discovered that on the charge of unlawful assemblage he could not be convicted by the recorder, who would have had to accept bail. This, however, was not what the mill owners wanted, and the charge of "obstructing and interfering" was added. This charge could be heard before Recorder Carroll, who at the hearing found Haywood guilty of such obstructing and interfering. He was thereupon adjudged guilty of disorderly conduct and sentenced to six months at hard labor. The sentence stands as proof of the personal hatred felt toward Haywood by the mill owners and the authorities, for the recorder had no jurisdiction to sentence anybody to six months at hard labor, the sentence itself being utterly illegal.

Lessig's conviction followed, and he was sentenced to six months without hard labor, while Messari was discharged.

Haywood, who had been taken to the patrol wagon to be hurried to the county jail to begin his sentence, was brought back into the court room to face the charge of "unlawful assemblage." The motion of his attorneys to have the case dismissed for the reason that no offense had been mentioned in the complaint, was promptly overruled by Recorder Carroll, and Haywood was held in the sum of $5,000 bail. The same sum was fixed for Lessig, and Messari was paroled in the charge of his attorneys, no bail being fixed in his case.

A writ of certiorari was at once sued out for the disorderly conduct charge, and a writ of habeas corpus for the unlawful assemblage charge. Both writs were granted and bail furnished on the disorderly charge, and so far as the six months sentence was concerned both prisoners were released. On the unlawful assemblage charge they refused to accept bail, demanding a hearing on the writ of habeas

corpus for the purpose of establishing the rights of themselves and of the hundreds of strikers who had been arrested on similar complaints. The authorities depended for conviction upon a law of the vintage of the seventeenth century, passed in the reign of Charles II.

For a week Haywood and Lessig lay in jail, awaiting a hearing on the writ of habeas corpus, while the strikers in monster mass meetings vowed not to return to the mills until Haywood and Lessig were released.

Justice Minturn Jests

On Saturday, April 5, the hearing on the writ came before Supreme Court Justice Minturn, who, after subjecting the state's witnesses to many painful questions, upon motion of Attorney Hunziker ordered the release of the prisoners, declaring they had been illegally arrested.

In the course of the hearing Prosecutor Dunn protested, in support of the charge, that a crowd was following Haywood.

"Would you arrest me," asked the Justice, "if a crowd was following me? These people wanted to see Haywood and he cannot be held responsible for that."

"But there was a great deal of noise," urged the prosecutor.

"Do you arrest the Salvation Army, which always makes a noise?" countered Justice Minturn.

"Well, the prisoner was not going in the direction of his home," pleaded the prosecutor.

"Would I be arrested for walking toward Haledon because I do not live in that direction?" demanded Minturn.

Police Sergeant Ryan on the stand testified that people came to the windows and on their porches, and this was on Sunday. Judge Minturn in reply remarked they might have done the same on St. Patrick's Day!

So ended one of the most flagrant outrages upon the rights of the working class that American records contain. It was a great victory for Haywood and Lessig and for the 25,000 strikers in whose behalf they were arrested.

In addressing a mass meeting of upwards of 20,000 strikers next day in Haledon, Haywood said:

"When Recorder Carroll sentenced me to six months at hard labor, he meant to sentence Paterson silk workers to ten hours' hard labor every day for the rest of their lives. He meant to sentence the weavers to the three and four loom system. He meant to sentence every worker to perpetual wage slavery."—*Reprinted from* International Socialist Review.

Figures and Facts

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

On March 11 the Paterson Press published Article No. 1 of the "Press Committee, representing the Silk Industry of Paterson." It gives some exceedingly interesting and illuminating figures, which we are willing to assume are correct. In the "Lyons of America" they claim 25,000 people are employed in silk manufacture for a total weekly wage of $240,000 or $1,000,000 a month. Article No. 3 from the same source indignantly objects to the agitators' claims that $10 per week is paid to dyer's helpers. "Misleading"—"instrument to inflame passions"—"misrepresentations"—"falsehoods"—"unfair criticism of mill owners"—are some of the choice characterizations of these figures. Let us be fair; let us be just. LET US EXAMINE THEIR OWN FIGURES—25,000 people at $240,000 a week, or AN AVERAGE WAGE OF $9.60, $38.40 A MONTH. And all highly paid foremen, superintendents, designers, etc., are figured in under this average, remember.

From pay envelopes collected at various meetings of strikers, and now in my possession, I gather the following figures:

1 girl, 16 years old, 32 weeks' work, at Bamford's, average per week, $1.85.
1 girl, employed by Bamford, 42 weeks, average per week, $1.25.
1 woman, broad silk, 2 looms, 40 weeks, average per week, $7.17.
1 man, weaver, one loom, 10 weeks, average per week, $10.59.
1 man, weaver, No. 237, 10 weeks, average per week, $9.73.
1 man, weaver, 2 looms, 40 weeks, average per week, $9.48.
1 man, weaver, No. 127, 10 weeks, average per week, $9.73.
1 man, dyer's helper, 52 weeks, average per week, $10.71.
Miscellaneous, 22 envelopes, average per week $6.17.

An Explanation Is Called For

It is evident that some weavers and dyers receive more than $9.60; many weavers and dyers' helpers get less, BUT HOW DOES THE "PRESS COMMITTEE" EXPLAIN ITS OWN AVERAGE OF $9.60?

In Article No. 1 they claim the monthly output equals $4,000,000, while wages are $1,000,000, or one-quarter the output. This sounds imposing, but reduced to a single fact, it means for every $4 the worker produces in silk he receives $1 and the employer takes $3. They speak feelingly of the stores, banks and channels of trade supported by this $1,000,000 in circulation.

BUT DO THE WORKERS OWE THE MANUFACTURERS

(Continued on page 19)

Program
of the
Paterson Strike Pageant

Scene: Paterson, N. J. Time: A. D. 1913.

The Pageant represents a battle between the working class and the capitalist class conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), making use of the General Strike as the chief weapon. It is a conflict between two social forces—the force of labor and the force of capital.

While the workers are clubbed and shot by detectives and policemen, the mills remain dead. While the workers are sent to jail by hundreds, the mills remain dead. While organizers are persecuted, the strike continues, and still the mills are dead. While the pulpit thunders denunciation and the press screams lies, the mills remain dead. No violence can make the mills alive—no legal process can resurrect them from the dead. Bayonets and clubs, injunctions and court orders are equally futile.

Only the return of the workers to the mills can give the dead things life. The mills remain dead throughout the enactment of the following episodes.

EPISODE ONE.

1. The Mills Alive—The Workers Dead

2. The Workers Begin to Think

Six o'clock on a February morning. The mill windows all aglow. The mill whistle sounds the signal to begin work. Men and women, old and young, come to work in the bitter cold of the dawn. The sound of looms. The beginning of the great silk strike. The striking workers sing the Marseillaise, the entire audience being invited to join in the song of revolt.

EPISODE TWO

The Mills Dead—The Workers Alive

Mass picketing. Every worker alert. The police interfere with peaceful picketing and treat the strikers with great brutality. The workers are provoked to anger. Fights between police and strikers ensue. Many strikers are clubbed and arrested. Shots are fired by detectives hired by the manufacturers, and Valentino Modestino, who

was not a striker or a silk mill worker, is hit by a bullet and killed as he stands on the porch of his house with one of his children in his arms.

EPISODE THREE

The Funeral of Modestino

The coffin containing the body of Modestino is followed by the strikers in funeral procession to the strains of the Dead March. The strikers passing drop red carnations and ribbons upon the coffin until it is buried beneath the crimson symbol of the workers' blood.

EPISODE FOUR

Mass Meeting at Haledon

Great mass meeting of 20,000 strikers. I. W. W. organizers speak. Songs by the strike composers are sung by the strikers. They also sing the International, the Marseillaise and the Red Flag, in which the audience is invited to join.

EPISODE FIVE.

1. May Day

2. Sending Away the Children

The May Day Parade. The workers of Paterson, with bands playing, flags flying, and women and children dressed in red, celebrate the international revolutionary labor day.

The strikers give their children to the "strike mothers" from other cities. The strike mothers receive them to be cared for during the war in the silk industry. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn speaks to the strikers and the children, dwelling upon the solidarity of labor shown in this vividly human episode, and is followed by William D. Haywood.

EPISODE SIX

Strike Meeting in Turn Hall

The strikers, men and women, legislate for themselves. They pass a law for the eight-hour day. No court can declare the law thus made unconstitutional. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca and William D. Haywood make typical strike speeches.

THE INTERNATIONAL

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The Industrial Union
Shall be the human race.

THE MARSEILLAISE

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!
Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary;
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,
Afright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding!

CHORUS

To arms, to arms, ye brave!
Th' avenging sword unsheathe,
March on, march on,
All hearts resolved
On victory or death!

(Continued from page 15)

ANY DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR THIS $1,000,000? DO THE BUSINESS MEN OF PATERSON? How much silk is produced today with the workers absent from the mills? How much will be the output for March, 1913? The Committee admits "the entire fabric of the city's business interests and the commonwealth itself is menaced to a point that should cause widespread alarm." Why? Because the English speaking workman and the foreigner, the skilled and the unskilled, have put their hands in their pockets. Paradoxically, they have ceased being "hands" and have become "heads." Knotted, color-stained hands came forth from the dye-boxes; women's fragile hands away from the looms; children's tiny hands have ceased to wind silk and the mills are dead.

Who can deny that without the workers there would be no $4,000,000 a month, and therefore when they draw their MILLION-DOLLAR ENVELOPE—their magnificent $9.60 a week—they are putting into local circulation not a token of mill-owner's generosity, but a product of their own sweat and toil. What has the girl who made 66,528 yards of ribbon for $64.45 got to be thankful to Mr. Bamford for?

Paterson's Real Life-Blood

How do the employers circulate their $3,000,000? Do they re-invest it in Paterson? Hardly. If they did, their $38,000,000 industry would double in size in thirteen months. Does the Silk Association hold its banquets in Paterson? No, it dines in the Waldorf in New York City. Have they their spacious offices in Paterson? Their address is 356 Fourth avenue, New York City. Do their wives and daughters buy their gowns (silk or otherwise), their furs, jewels, or automobiles in Paterson? Do they attend the opera in Paterson? Whenever were Caruso or Tetrazzini in Paterson, though there are thousands of their countrymen who would go without food to hear them once? Do the employers build their houses, attend church or send their children to school here? How many grocery, clothing, shoe, dry goods or drug stores, meat markets, coal dealers or doctors could exist if they depended on the mill owners exclusively for patronage? We challenge the Press Committee to answer the questions: How many mill owners live in Paterson? What are their incomes? How many live elsewhere? What are their incomes? We feel confident these additional figures would but substantiate our claim, which is, however, virtually self-evident—that the workers are the real life blood of Paterson. They produce the wealth that makes the city famous, they are the bulk of the consumers. Without them there would be no wages, no profits, no silk, no property, no city. But the manufacturers, on the whole, and the stockholders are ABSENTEE CAPITALISTS, living on the unpaid labor of Paterson's toilers.

To say, as the Press Committee does in Article No. 4 that "the present intolerable conditions are due to the domination of professiona agitators and a small minority of the silk workers; that 90% of our employees have been kept from their daily occupation through fear of this minority," is a gratuitous insult to thousands of men and women who are neither sheep nor cowards, can neither be led nor driven against their will. Men and women do not leave their jobs, forfeit four weeks' pay, risk the blacklist or unemployment unless they are impelled by just and deep felt grievances against intolerable conditions. The agitator's appeal for organized action to better conditions would have fallen on deaf ears had it not voiced the smoldering sentiment of the mil' workers, and had the conditions not needed bettering. Nor are the workers cowards, and no handful could have driven them out of the mill any more than police, detectives and privation can now drive them back.

Strike to Stop Spread of Evils

The strike was called only after thorough consideration in many mass meetings of workers and only after every other effort to stop the spread of such abominations as the three and four loom system had failed.

The demands formulated and furnished to each manufacturer already are generally known. They have been published in the local press, even in those that now pretend ignorance of the strikers' "goal." Embodying, as they do, the abolition of the three and four loom system for broad silk weavers; the eight-hour day for all hard silk weavers, ribbon mill workers, dyers and dyers' helpers, etc., a minimum wage of $12 a week for dyers' helpers; the 1894 schedule for ribbon weavers, and a flat increase of $1 for all hard silk workers; they should appeal to all who have "the greatest good for the greatest number" at heart.

They demand no recognition for the union, but they do most certainly demand that there shall be no discrimination for activity in the strike or union membership. AN EMPLOYER HAS NO MORE RIGHT TO DEMAND A STRIKER'S RESIGNATION FROM THE UNION THAN THE STRIKER HAS TO DEMAND HIS FROM THE MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION.

The moderation and justice of these demands are not discounted by the Press Committee tales of arrests and accusations against the agitators, while omitting to tell the whole truth of their acquittals and vindications in the courts of Idaho and Massachusetts. Haywood, they say, was defended by "expensive counsel" and "escaped." Why not tell that his prosecutor was Senator Borah of Idaho, who had two years to prepare the case, while Haywood lay in jail, and that even then his innocence was proven to the jury's satisfaction? THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, we ask from the Press Committee.

Scathing Commentary on Conditions

Article No. 2 is drowned in crocodile tears over these who need financial assistance. Is it not a scathing commentary on the wages paid that the workers have exhausted their resources at the end of three weeks and need assistance? There is no better argument for an increase of wages. Suppose the people had been sick? Suppose they had been laid off? WHERE ARE ALL THE BOASTED HIGH WAGES WHEN THREE WEEKS BRINGS THEM TO THE STARVATION POINT?

In conclusion, I want, on behalf of the strikers, to address a plain word to business men. Not that we are soliciting your support or sympathy. We can win our strike if we keep the mills shut, with or without your endorsement. The workers can, if necessary, get along without you. Passaic, Jersey City and Newark are not so far away. BUT CAN YOU GET ALONG WITHOUT THEM?

Remember, a victorious strike means more money in the pay envelopes, more money to circulate in Paterson. If we can halt the three or four loom system we can prevent the discharge of many weavers and a then inevitable reduction of wages. An eight-hour day means more jobs for more workers. What does this mean to you, Mr. Business Man? Listen to the music of your cash register and hear it sing, "more money to spend—more business." Then if you're wise, help the strikers, or at least don't interfere. You have everything to gain from a successful strike. Think of the dollar gained tomorrow and stop whining about the dime lost today.

The prosperity of the silk industry is permanent, nation wide and increasing. The Silk Association of America claims that it did a $25,000,000 business in 1872 and that in 1912 it had a $200,000,000 output. EIGHT HUNDRED PER CENT. INCREASE IN 40 YEARS. How about wages? Have they increased even 100 per cent. in 40 years? Instead they have decreased so rapidly that the ribbon weavers BOSSES' SCHEDULE" OF 1894 IS 100 PER CENT. INCREASE TO SOME 1913 WORKERS.

Patient waiting has brought reduction upon reduction; submissive requests for more from individuals have brought only dismissals. Now they are on strike to get through their organized power what nothing else has brought them.

No injections of outside issues will swerve us from our purpose.

The Flag and the Workers

The strikers' reply to the employers' hypocritical eulogy of the American flag is as follows:

"Yes—we have lived, we have worked, we have fought under the flag;

But you, who had to buy flags to put them on your mill, you reduced our wages under the flag;

You increased our hours under the flag;

You took our wives from the homes to work ten hours a day under the flag;

You took our children from school under the flag;

You fattened on our labor under the flag;

Now, we demand more bread, more meat, shorter hours, longer life, under the flag.

We, the textile workers, fling your challenge back into your teeth.

We wove the flag,

We dyed the flag,

We refuse to scab under the flag."—*Reprinted from* Solidarity.

Smoothing Out the Wrinkles in Silk

By William D. Haywood

When more than seventeen weeks ago the broad-silk weavers of the Henry Doherty mill went on strike, they had no idea that it would grow until the silk industry would be paralyzed. This is the situation at present.

The strike has spread until every branch of the industry in Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Virginia, as well as New Jersey, is involved.

The strike of the silk workers is unique in as much as it more nearly represents a general strike than anything that has ever occurred in any industry in this country. There are approximately 50,000 men, women and children who are affected directly as strikers, or are locked out, due to the fact that the dye houses, which are one of the preliminary processes and the keystone of the silk industry, are tied up.

Organization Beforehand

Paterson, N. J., is at this hour the storm center of this remarkable strike. The silk workers are fortunate in having Local No. 152 as a nucleus around which to form their organization. This Local was largely composed of seasoned veterans in the labor movement, many of them charter members since 1906. When they realized the necessity of a general strike to protect the workers of Doherty's mill and themselves, the strike call came from Local 152. It met a general response, and the necessary committees for carrying on the preliminary work of what have grown to be matters of great importance were formed almost automatically and have since developed and been added to, so that from

nearly every standpoint the working machinery of the strike is in excellent shape.

From the beginning the Executive Committee began throwing their outposts into the adjoining states where silk was produced, and through the efforts of these committees the aims and purposes of the strike were made known, so that now, in all localities, the silk workers are standing for the same demands as Paterson.

Police Help Strike

It was in the very beginning of the strike that we received our first assistance from the police force. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Carlo Tresca came from New York to work in the interests of the strike. They were almost immediately arrested and thrown into jail. This action on the part of the police so thoroughly aroused the working class of Paterson, and especially that part of it that had heard the speakers at different meetings deliver the message of the I. W. W. and make their appeal for solidarity, that it resulted in bringing about an amalgamation that would otherwise have required much hard work and a longer period to accomplish.

Since then the police have continued in their bungling methods, each time adding to the indignation of the striking workers, as well as arousing the hostility of the public, which is usually against the workers.

The city and county authorities and politicians generally have assumed the same arrogant attitude that we have always to contend with, while, on the other hand, the workers in this particular strike have been tolerant and patient in face of all opposition. Hundreds of them have been thrown into jail, arrested without warrant and held without charge, with the evident purpose of breaking their spirit. They have been crowded into noisome cells, in some instances seven or eight being compelled to occupy a space intended for one, and kept there more than twenty-four hours without food or water.

This brutal treatment, instead of weakening the spirit of the picketers, has made it stronger, as is shown by the fact that some of them have been arrested four and five times, only to come out of jail, report their experiences at the mass meeting, and go on to the picket line again in defiance of the police.

Demands of Strikers

The chief demand of the strikers is for the shorter work day. The dye house workers, who are employed at the most unhealthful and meanest work connected with the silk industry, are demanding an eight-hour day and a minimum wage of $12. Already some of the dye house proprietors have offered to reduce the 12-hour day to 9 and give $13 a week. But the workers have learned to think in terms of eight hours and are not willing to make any concessions.

So strong is the desire for eight hours among the workers that this is the time when the capping stone is to be put in place. They have sworn to themselves that no matter what the outcome of the strike or what the result of any settlement, under no circumstances will they work longer than eight hours. This determined stand has been taken in mass meetings of the women as well as of the men and children.

The ribbon weavers are demanding that the two-loom system be abolished, the eight-hour day established and the 1894 price list reinstated.

The principal demand of the broad-silk weavers is to abolish the nerve-racking and death-dealing three and four loom system.

These are the principal demands that have held 25,000 workers in a solid phalanx against the manufacturers' association for now eight weeks.

The manufacturers, with their sordid and selfish plea, claim that they cannot grant the workers' demands and make any profit out of their goods; this, notwithstanding that they are receiving a 60 per cent. tariff protection against foreign importation, which has enabled them to receive the bulk of the wealth represented in the silk industry, which now represents $200,000,000. The workers have invited the manufacturers to raise the price of the goods, as this is one of the commodities not used by the working class, and perhaps for this reason the price has not increased during the past ten or fifteen years, while bread and meat have gone up 100 per cent.

The manufacturers likewise claim that they have competitors in the field, which in itself is a palpable lie, as 80 per cent. of all the ribbon manufactured in America is made in Paterson, which likewise is true of the finer grades of silk.

Cheaper grades are made in Pennsylvania, where wages are less and where 91 per cent. of the workers employed in silk mills are women and children. These mills, in many instances, are only the annex of Paterson concerns, which have built up their buisness in mining camps, where the wives and children of the miners have been induced to become the slaves of the silk barons.

I. W. W. a Nightmare to Bosses

Before the startled eyes of the silk manufacturers the I. W. W. looms up like a nightmare. They have found no one in executive capacity with whom they can deal in star chamber sessions in methods usually adopted with the John Golden type, who, by the way, was responsible for the introduction of the four-loom system through one of his compromise "settlements" some years ago in Paterson.

As in Lawrence, so also in Paterson, the mask has been torn from Golden, and here he will be unable to make any success as a strike-breaker. He is discounted and despised by the workers, who know him

for what he is, a medium and tool for the bosses. The employers would indeed like to "settle" with Mr. Golden, but the Paterson strike will not be settled by outsiders, but by the workers themselves who have the strike in their own hands and are learning to jealously guard their interests.

Nearly 10,000 of these men, women and children, who are battling for a better standard of living, are now members in good standing of the I. W. W., while thousands of others have been enrolled and will be card members as soon as the strike is settled.

An indication of the way the bosses feel toward the I. W. W. is plainly shown by the following statement of the manufacturers' association just issued:

The manufacturers can give no more wages and they cannot shorten hours and still continue in business. They cannot change their position in the very least particular. They refuse to recognize the strikers as a body because they are dominated by the I. W. W.

Paterson "Press" Howls

The following shriek from the Paterson "Press" will give the readers of "Solidarity" an idea of how the I. W. W. is regarded by this mouthpiece of the silk mill owners:

"The 'Press' is against the I. W. W. The 'Press' hates to see the working men and women of Paterson fooled by the I. W. W. The 'Press' wants to make it as plain to the mill workers of Paterson as the English language permits that the I. W. W. would go out of existence if there were no strikes. In other words, the I. W. W. is kept alive by fights between employers and employees. That being true, it is the sole business of the I. W. W. to create trouble between capital and labor, and by so doing to keep the organization in existence and keep pouring money into the pockets of the paid agitators of this un-American organization. Cannot the mill workers of Paterson see that they are being made a tool for the professional trouble makers who head the I. W. W.? The I. W. W. agitators are the only ones who have been benefited by this strike. Figure it out for yourself, you mill workers of Paterson, just how much this gang has cleaned up in this city during the past six weeks. How much did they clean up in the Lawrence strike? How much did they make out of the Akron strike and in others in which they have operated? Is it not true that they would like to continue the Paterson strike for at least another two weeks, so as to capture the second month's assessment, which you, who have foolishly joined the I. W. W., must pay to be in good standing in this revolutionary organization?

"The I. W. W. never won a strike, and so long as American manhood and American principles prevail it never will. The so-called strike leaders, who are feeding like vultures upon the misery of their dupes, go from city to city, and, as in Paterson, when they have squeezed all

they can from their victims, depart to some other field, where they go through the same diabolical program of arraying the working class against the employing class, preaching hatred, violence and treason, and in the mantime chuckling in glee over their devilish creations, while they pocket all the coin in sight.

"I. W. W. Disgrace to America"

"The 'Press' begs the mill workers of Paterson to repudiate the I. W. W. for two reasons: First, because it is a disgrace to America; and second, because it carries with it the very characteristics that will bring defeat to any strike that it engineers. The I. W. W. is a hoodoo organization simply because it is a bad organization, and the 'Press' tells the mill workers of Paterson that better conditions will never be brought about through its agency. The I. W. W., instead of the friend, is the enemy of the working man, because it promises him what it cannot perform. And not only is the I. W. W. the real enemy of the working man, whom it professes to love, but it is the enemy of the best country on earth; it stands for the destruction of the government of America, the country that is a haven of refuge for the downtrodden people of Europe. And so in advocating methods that if carried out would destroy this country, it is the enemy of the unfortunate peoples of other climes who come here to enjoy the benefits of the higher civilization and the improved working and living conditions that have made America the peer of the whole world.

"The 'Press' is the real friend of the working people of Paterson, because it warns them against their worst enemy. Every day that the I. W. W. stays in Paterson the city is polluted and disgraced. The city officials seem unable by any foundation of legal procedure to get them out. It is therefore up to the working people of Paterson to do the job. They can accomplish what the Mayor, the Chief of Police, the Public Prosecutor, the Sheriff and the city's entire legal department cannot bring about.

"Will the mill workers of Paterson force the I. W. W. out of town, go back to the mills, and then organize themselves into a decent, dignified American organization to work for better shop conditions? The 'Press' promises that if they will do this, the manufacturers, who have justly refused to recognize the I. W. W., will be forced to listen to them If the workers will repudiate the I. W. W. the 'Press' renews its promise to support them vigorously in their undertaking, as will every other good influence in Paterson."

Similar to Lawrence

Again we have a situation similar to Lawrence in the many different nationalities to bring together. Here are twenty, chief among them the Italians, and in order Jews, German, American, Polish, and workers from many other countries. An insidious effort has been made by press,

pulpit and politician to divide the ranks of the workers, appealing to the spirit of patriotism of the Americans, all of which have been devoid of results, as will be seen by the following letter:

"Whereas, the Morning Call, the Paterson Press and Guardian, newspapers published in the city of Paterson, have repeatedly published in their columns that the American or English speaking men and women wanted to go back to work, being satisfied with conditions in the silk industry as they existed before the present strike, and that they were intimidated and afraid to go back to work on account of the fear that they would be branded scabs by the foreign-speaking men and women; and

"Whereas, such statements published by the above newspapers are an insult to the English-speaking men and women who are on strike for better conditions, and whose demands have been presented to the manufacturers by their respective shop committees and said shop committees upon presenting said demands have not always been shown the courtesy due them as American men and women;

"Resolved, That we, the English-speaking employes of the Frank & Dugan (both Railroad avenue and Marget street) mills in shop meeting assembled do hereby protest against the aforesaid newspapers in trying to inject race prejudice into our ranks in order to divide the working men and women who have for the past six weeks put up such an orderly and splendid fight for better conditions, in order to live a better, longer and happier life, so that the city of Paterson may become a model city for the whole world to look up to.

"The Employes of the Frank & Dugan Shops, per the Committee on Resolutions."

The Mills Are Dead

The workers of all nationalities realize that this strike is the crucial test of the silk industry. Each and all of them are conserving their strength and making every cent count. During all these long weeks the writer has never seen a drunken man among the strikers of Paterson. They are not spending what little money they may have for anything but the actual necessities of life, but they are willing to fight until bitter starvation drives them back, and even then will still fight and make the bosses pay for their folly.

The spirit of enthusiasm among the workers is unflagging. Great mass meetings are held every day in the forenoon in Turn and Helvetia halls, while the afternoons and evenings are given to shop committees of the various branches in the industry. Among the most notable of the meetings that have been held have been those of women and of children.

The workers are active in their own interests. The mills are dead, standing like sepulchres, rusting for lack of the magic touch of the wealth producers.—*Reprinted from* Solidarity.

Talk About Sabotage

By A Fellow Worker

The famous Paterson capitalist papers howl that the I. W. W. agitators talk of sabotage, but these papers do not explain the sabotage on consumers practiced by the silk bosses in their shops.

The Paterson bosses commit more sabotage than any I. W. W. agitator could talk of or think of.

When the silk comes into the dye shops they first weigh it; then if the lot is 100 pounds to begin with, by the time it leaves the shop it weighs 300 pounds or more and the added weight to that silk is nothing but tin-lead and sillichet; that is the first kind of sabotage on consumers.

When the silk first comes to the dye shop it is boiled, then put into a tin and lead solution to give it some of the weight and if the first treatment is not enough, they will keep on giving it more of the tin and lead, until the "silk" comes to the weight that is called for. Then they will give it some of the sillichet, and have it dyed through the dye. It must go through acids of two or three different kinds, and when it matches to the sample they will put it in some olive oil and a weak solution of acid so that it will look shiny. That is another kind of sabotage.

Another kind of sabotage is to put the boiled silk into liquid iron, so that 16 ounces can be made to weigh 18, 20, 24, 28, 30, 40, 44, 48 and 50 ounces. After the "iron" it must be put in Divi, Fustic, and Gambier, then when it reaches the required weight it will be dyed until it matches to its sample, then put through olive oil, light acid and also lemon juice to make it shine; then it will be sent to the shops to be woven.

When silk thus treated and woven is sold by the pound the purchaser is not buying silk—but tin-lead, iron, Divi, Fustic and Gambeir, and he is paying the price of silk. After two or three months the "sabotaged silk" cloth will split up like ribbons.

Now, the Paterson papers say the I. W. W. agitators talk of sabotage. But if they knew about the sabotage that the master dyers commit, Paterson would be in hell until the bosses "shelled out" to the editors, when the latter would still damn the I. W. W. agitators while claiming that the bosses were good and honest and incapable of committing acts of sabotage on their customers.—*Reprinted from* Solidarity.

Contract Slavery in Paterson Silk Mills

By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

When the general strike was called in Paterson, 15 girls from the Bamford Ribbon Mill answered the call. Mr. Bamford immediately threatened to confiscate large amounts of back wages belonging to the girls, but still in his possession. An investigation by a ribbon weavers' committee revealed the fact that these girls, ranging in ages from 14 to 17, WERE VIRTUAL SLAVES UNDER AN ABOMINABLE CONTRACT SYSTEM.

The contract, drawn up by a prominent Paterson attorney, provides that from the wages of each girl 50 per cent. is withheld for a period of one year. The other 50 per cent., MINUS FINES, is the girl's pay envelope. One pay envelope calls for $6.50 wage. The cash contained was $2.80—a mathematically peculiar 50 per cent. At the end of the year, the girl, if still in Bamford's employ, receives the money WITHOUT INTEREST. But if the girl quits voluntarily, Mr. Bamford coolly POCKETS ALL THE MONEY HE HAS HELD BACK. And the entire policy of the business is to drive as many out as possible before the year is up.

One girl averaged $1.25 for a period of 42 weeks. Another averaged $1.85 for 32 weeks. The first girl manufactured 66,528 yards of ribbon for $64.45. If Mr. Bamford could sell his ribbon for but 2c a yard, he would still make $1,166.11 on this girl's toil. Easy money for the man who has discovered a "pay streak" of labor—the children of Paterson! Kept in perpetual motion, a crowd working, a crowd quitting, and a crowd coming from school, his mill can profit as long as childhood lasts.

The Ten-Hour Day

Ten hours a day these girls work, without rest or letup. Seats are not allowed. If a girl sits on the steam pipe she is summarily fired. Relaxation is impossible, for over these 15 girls are FIVE SLAVE DRIVERS to watch that their speedy labor is not neglected for a moment. Some of the girls at whom Mr. Bamford roars, "More work, more, more," are so little they have to stand on a stool to reach the top of the loom. One of them said: "While I am on strike I go around to the school yard to watch the kids play, and sometimes I play with them myself." Think of the tragic farce, fellow workers, a striker and playing with the children in the school playgrounds!

If the power stops. the girls must work overtime without pay to make up the lost time. They start three minutes before the regular

hours and stop three minutes late, so Mr. Bamford gets 12 minutes per girl free, or two hours and fifty minutes a day from the 15 girls. Saturday afternoon, when all other mills are closed, these little girls are kept in till usually 2 o'clock to clean up, including the floor upon which the masculine bosses have been spitting great wads of tobacco all week. When the year is up the girls are then compelled to work all the days they missed before they receive their money.

One little Italian girl, with a face like a flower, told how a wheel fell from the steam pipes and hurt her head so badly she was laid up for two months. She said, "The boss didn't pay anything, but my old man had to pay the doctor's bill. Then when I came back to work, Mr. Bamford told me I had to make up those days before I'd get any of my money."

The Generous Boss

They are paid 10 cents an hour for overtime, and once in awhile Mr. Bamford in a fit of generosity gives them a quarter for running out bad warps. But as the girls say, "Yes, he raises us 50 cents one week and docks us a dollar the next."

Ventilation doesn't exist in this industrial prison. If the girls open a window they are fined. In winter the steam isn't turned on until it gets so cold they can't work, and then only does Mr. Boss worry about their comfort. There are no dressing rooms. Men's and women's toilets are adjoining, and the partitions are so flimsy and have been so cut through that the girls are subjected to all sorts of indecent and obscene remarks from the other side. The floors are old and so split that the girls' shoes are cut up walking to and fro at their looms. They eat their lunch on an old dirty stairway where the water comes through in rainy weather. The girls claim they have been sworn at, pushed and shoved around, and one boss in affectionate moods, between slave-driving ones, put his arm around them indiscriminately.

As if all this were not bad enough, Mr. Bamford has worked out an elaborate fining system. The following are some of its applications enumerated by the girls: Sick one-half day, a girl was fined a day's pay; buttoned shoes 5 minutes early, fined 50 cents; fined for talking together; for laughing at the boss; $1.50 for spilling some water down the elevator shaft; $1 for looking for another job; 25 cents for tying a big knot on a thread, etc. Scissors and hooks are sold to them, "lost" and sold over again, countless times.

Abolish the Contract System

Summing it all up, we may almost believe the girls were fortunate when they received their envelopes not to find therein a bill for what they owed Bamford!

The Paterson strike is a struggle for shorter hours and more wages. We want the fathers and mothers to earn enough money that they won't need to send their 14-year-old daughters to work for $1.25 per week.

But we want to demand for the immediate future: (1) THE ABOLITION OF THIS OUTRAGEOUS CONTRACT SYSTEM; (2), that the little girls receive all their money from Bamford before the strike is over; (3), that a minimum wage be established there equal to what is paid for similar work in other ribbon mills; (4), that eight hours constitute a day's work.

We want to make it impossible for girls who stand between childhood and womanhood, to have their health ruined by excessive and premature labor. We want to make it impossible for this "Christian gentleman" to say: "Bring your children to me; let me weave their soft bodies, their rosy cheeks, the light of their eyes, into cheap ribbon."

Let us inscribe on our banner, that beautiful exhortation, "As ye do unto the least of these, ye do it unto me."

Fellow workers, outside of Paterson, who want to help us in our fight against long hours, low wages, intensification of labor, woman's exploitation, child labor; who want to help us win our rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the right to organize; who want to help us clean up and civilize such hell-holes as Bamford's—send your contributions to P. W. KIRSCHBAUM, Financial Secretary Textile Workers Strike Committee, Paterson, N. J.—*Reprinted from* Solidarity.

SCENE AT THE FUNERAL OF VALENTINO MODESTINO

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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